NATIONAL REVIEW

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September 1, 1956

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

The Big Shows: Chicago and San Francisco

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM and MORRIE RYSKIND

They're Off!

SAM M. JONES

Court or Constitution?

HENRY HAZLITT

Articles and Reviews by . . . . . ROBERT PHELPS

L. BRENT BOZELL · FINIS FARR · GODFREY P. SCHMIDT

ROGER BECKET · WILLMOORE KENDALL · KARL H. CERNY

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For the Record

Senator Lehman is reported to have made his retirement contingent on the promise that the Republican nomination would go to another Liberal, specifically, Jacob Javits—so that in case his chosen candidate, Mayor Wagner, should be defeated, Mr. Lehman's Senate seat would be still occupied by a Liberal. John Hay Whitney, who has sponsored Javits in the past, is said to have gone to San Francisco to clinch the deal. . . .

It was pressure from the CIO, which is the main factor in his support, that compelled Governor Goodwin Knight of California to make a last minute attempt to block the endorsement of Nixon by his state's delegation. This in turn forced Senator Knowland and Mr. Nixon, between whom there has been bad feeling, into a solid front in order to assure their control of the California vote. . . . Secretary of Agriculture Benson is receiving belated credit for his refusal to raise parity levels during the slump in cattle and hog prices last year. With fewer cattle and hogs now reaching the market, prices are up 33 per cent and 50 per cent respectively since December. . . .

Oregon voters will get a chance to declare themselves on "right to work" legislation this November. The 50,000 signatures necessary to put that issue on the ballot have been received by Oregon's State Secretary. . . . A fourteen-point program drawn up by the White House Commission on Small Business, which advocates a sharp cut in taxes on small business, is the Republicans' answer to Democratic Big-Business-Government charges. . . . The 400 jets now in the foreign aid pipeline for Yugoslavia will not be delivered until President Eisenhower specifically approves the shipment. . . .

Exploiting the recent Subversive Activities Control Board decision to throw out the evidence of Harvey Matusow and two other witnesses, the Communist Party now demands that all evidence from all informers be discarded as "tainted." . . . Deputy U.S. Attorney General William Rogers points out that under the doctrine propounded by the Communists at Nuremberg (that all officials of a regime bear responsibility for its crimes) the incumbent Soviet leaders are guilty of the atrocities they now attribute to Stalin. . . .

Last October, Red Chinese troops penetrated Indian territory in the Bara Hoti plateau area (which borders on Chinese-held Tibet) but quickly withdrew. Now China demands that the Bara Hoti area be "neutralized" pending "inquiry by a joint team." . . . An ex-American missionary in China, described as "an able man of doubtful character," is master-minding Communist attempts to establish relations between the American Churches of Christ and the state-controlled "Christian" organization set up in China by Chou En-lai (see "Red Churches in China," August 11). . . .

Convention-alities: Stassen off to a bad start; the would-be kingmaker got lost the first morning en route from his hotel to the Cow Palace. . . . CBS and NBC report that neither the Democratic nor the Republican convention had the appeal of "I Love Lucy" or the "64,000 Question." . . .

Domestic economic notes: Government spending of all kinds (federal, state and local) was down one per cent, to $109.7 billion, in fiscal 1956. . . . America's gross national product reached a record annual rate of $408 billion in the second quarter of 1956 (up $21 billion over the comparable quarter of 1955), but half this increase is accounted for by higher prices . . . voluntary health insurance payments are running 20 per cent higher than a year ago: one hundred and ten million Americans are covered by hospital insurance, 94 million by surgical insurance. . . . The South has made the greatest regional gain in per capita income in the past eight years (up 45 per cent). . . .

The drys have it — the drought in certain sections of Northern Ireland has become so great that customers in the local pubs have been told they must take their whiskey straight. . . .

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

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The WEEK

● Tennessee's gift to the Democratic campaign this year is not confined to the Vice-Presidential candidate. The Stevenson-Kefauver ticket won the instant backing of the nation's No. 1 rock 'n' roller, Tennessee-born Elvis Presley. Elvis gave with a cool word that shut down the "Elvis for President" campaign which has been sweeping bobby-sox circles. "That's real crazy," he confided. "I'm strictly for Stevenson. I don't dig the intellectual bit, but I'm telling you, man, he knows the most." The National Committee is said to be thinking of a joint Estes-Elvis campaign tour, billed as *The Koonskin Kids.*

● "The greatest difference," said Leonard Hall last week at San Francisco, "between the Democratic convention and this convention is that the Democrats nominated a loser. We're here to nominate a winner." Mr. Hall's statement is horribly accurate. The greatest difference between the two parties lies in the fact that they back different people, not different ideas, for office.

● Riddle: I wrote a television film called *Assignment India,* NBC produced it, I narrated it, and a British Socialist M.P. saw it and denounced it—on the grounds that it is anti-English and anti-American and, in any case, grossly inaccurate. Who *am I?*

[Chester Bowles, once our Ambassador to *India.*]

● Mr. Harry Cain's resignation as a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board raises the question of a replacement. The SACB has so far proved utterly futile. For one reason or another, even the Communist Party has escaped having to register under the terms of the McCarran Act. The fault lies mostly with the inadequacy of the act, and with judicial preciosity. But there is much to be gained by strengthening the composition of the Board, specifically by replacing Senator Cain—who in recent months used his office as a loudspeaker for criticizing the premises on which the legislation rests—with someone who understands the fight, and the strategems of the enemy. We nominate: Mr. Jay G. Sourwine.

● Just think of it! A professor of Washington University needs microfilms of some manuscripts in a

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Leningrad library. He sends a request for them through—very properly—the Soviet Embassy in Washington. It forwards the request to the library, whose director amiably replies, in effect: If you will get us one copy each of the following recently published American books, which we estimate to be worth $75, we can do business. Washington University agrees, and the Soviet Union gets to work with normal Communist efficiency—so that it takes eight months to deliver the microfilms, and there's a little error of 200 per cent in the estimate of what they will cost. The error, however, is in *our* favor, and the Russians, knowing that honesty is the best policy, write and tell the professor he can have twice as many microfilms again. The moral? You *can* do business with the Russians! Coexistence *pays*—and not only for *them,* but, for *us!*

● "To: Clayton Fritchey, Stevenson for President Headquarters, Washington, D.C. Dear Clayton: How the hell are you, pal? That's terrific about your appointment as press secretary to Stevenson. I knew you had it in you! By the way, I happen to have some information here that might come in handy. Did you know it was *Nixon* who kidnapped Galindez? He found out G. was about to start in on *another* Ph.D. thesis about N.—let's call him 'Blaikie' from now on—exposing Blaikie's record. They've got G. hidden in Len Hall's cellar. I have all *kinds* of vital information. I can let you have it for half what you, Rauh, Wiggins and the boys paid me a couple of years ago. All I want is expenses. What do you say? Your old friend, Paul Hughes."

● Detailed reports from the Far East state that the Chinese Communists are completing the technical preparations which make easible an assault on the Nationalist-held islands of Quemoy and Matsu. Two major air bases, supplemented by more than a score of jet landing strips, have been readied. A railroad has been driven through the mountains to the coast, heretofore accessible to heavy-traffic only by sea. Some observers believe that an attack will come before the end of the year. Not a word concerning Quemoy and Matsu appears in either Party Platform, or in the texts of the endless speeches delivered at the conventions.

● For outstanding and unflagging good humor far beyond the call of reportorial duty, NATIONAL REVIEW awards the order of Bacchus with crossed vine leaves —one for each convention—to Art Buchwald of the *New York Herald Tribune's* Paris staff, who, after victoriously fighting his way through the accumulated weight of bipartisan platitudes, can now return with a clean conscience to his serious vocation as chronicler of Parisian visitors and bistros.

● The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has released a letter from its chairman, Senator Eastland, addressed to Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., at the UN. Senator Eastland sent Mr. Lodge a copy of the letters from imprisoned Ukrainian patriots smuggled out of Russia, first published in NATIONAL REVIEW of August 1. The letters detail the cruelties inflicted on thousands of prisoners even after the night fell on the cult of personality. "I am . . . writing," said Senator Eastland, "to urge that you bring these pitiful appeals to the immediate attention of the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations, and that you ask the Commission to demonstrate the true depth of its enthusiasm for human rights by calling the Soviet Union to account for the listed crimes in the forum of world opinion."

Contrast

Governor Langlie's answer to Governor Clement proved that it is possible to champion a political party every bit as fervently, every bit as uncritically, without total vulgarity or total intellectual pandemonium. Governor Langlie took the time to list, one by one, and then dispose of, a few central Democratic pretensions. In doing so, he effectively undermined much Democratic demagoguery.

More perhaps than any other functionary in a convention the keynote speaker is expected to appear as the embodiment of the Party—and then to gaze at himself in unabashed rapture. It is to be expected, under the circumstances, that the keynoter will see his Party's deformities as marks of great beauty. Bravely, Governor Langlie waded right in, thrashed about for a little with the grave disasters of the last four years, and came out with a set of glorious triumphs in his teeth. Thus, as a result of the inspired Summit meeting at Geneva, Governor Langlie informs us, "the Kremlin became more responsive to our dynamic foreign policy." Thus the Eisenhower Administration, through vigorous and enlightened action, has "stopped" the spread of Communism. Thus the Republican Party, in all its actions, has "returned to government by principle."

But those who had steeled themselves against rampant idolatry were in for a pleasant surprise. There was every reason to expect the worst. Especially after Ethel Merman introduced the Republican

Republican Platform: Short Version

1. Dwight Eisenhower is our leader.
2.
3.

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campaign song ("He is the greatest Pres-i-dent in histo-ry/And on Election Day/We will have our say/For EisenHOWer and NIX-on")—but Governor Langlie exercised commendable restraint. He did overdo it a bit in listing six qualities Mr. Eisenhower had brought to the Presidency. For he included a "respect [for] those who disagree with him." If that is in fact one of the President's qualities, he has grounds for a libel suit against Robert Donovan, chronicler of the first three years of Eisenhower's reign. (And in any case, the tribute is meaningless. Because just *who* disagrees with Eisenhower? Over on the Left, there's the Communists. Surely Governor Langlie did not mean to say that the President respects *them*. And over here on the Right, only such as the likes of us. But alas, the President is probably not even aware of our existence, since we do not get mentioned in the works of Eric Hoffer, Zane Grey, or Chester Bowles.)

But as we say, Governor Langlie's performance was, by contrast with that of Governor Clement, refreshing and civilized, and cause for public gratitude. And he did not carry forward the campaign to Caesarize Eisenhower.

That came later.

Sanity

Senator Knowland's short address at San Francisco was remarkable for the affirmation of broad principles of government all too often mutilated by the Administration whose praises he was there to sing. Senator

Knowland was there, after all, to defend the Republican record; and it must be for that reason that he referred to the conclusion of the Korean War—without, let us be thankful, detailing the terms of the conclusion—as a major diplomatic victory for the Republican Party.

But having done his duty (and even having shirked it in some respects, as witness his failure to list the Geneva Conference among the triumphs of the Administration), Senator Knowland went on to make some highly anachronistic statements of personal belief. He applauded his Party's attitude toward private property, calling to mind the fact that, in sharp contrast with the Truman of the steel seizure, the Republicans had never been guilty of capricious and illegal dispossession. He struck a hard blow at the political collectivists by saying that the more time he spent in Washington the more convinced he became of the value of states' rights. He used strong and clear language to re-register his indictment of Communism, and his unalterable opposition to admitting the Chinese Communists into the United Nations. And he urged on the United States—and we pray that Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles were listening attentively—a foreign policy in which one does not, in practice, abandon one's friends in order to please one's enemies.

Senator Knowland distinguished himself, as he so often does. More and more he emerges as a strong rock in a shifting sea.

Time & Tide & Dulles

Taking a leaf from Dean Acheson's China book, Secretary Dulles seeks to let the Suez dust settle: he went to London not to affirm but to avoid a position, not to act but to urge inaction.

But history does not wait on Mr. Dulles' bidding. Lebanon, having already violated its contract with the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company, now threatens immediate expropriation. Rioters in oil-saturated Kuwait demand that the British withdraw. The Istiqlal Party in Morocco, emboldened by Nasser's success, swings behind the Cairo-backed Allal El-Fassi and calls for the ouster of the French, for general socialization, and for parleys on the American bases. Indonesia pushes its repudiation of all obligations to Holland. The issue of control of the Panama Canal is put on the public agenda.

Mr. Dulles' diplomatic procedure at London was curious beyond measure. His proposal conceded, even before discussion, all but one of the points at issue. It granted the legitimacy of an expropriation that flaunted formal contracts. It accepted without demur Nasser's scrapping of solemn treaties. It did not question the propriety of a brigand ruling a world highway. It merely shut its eyes to the finally decisive fact: that control of the canal and isthmus depends, in the last analysis, on military power. All that Mr. Dulles' "compromise" begged was that an international board, vaguely attached to the UN, should have some sort of supervisory function over the canal's technical operation. And on that board the Soviet Union, of course, would sit.

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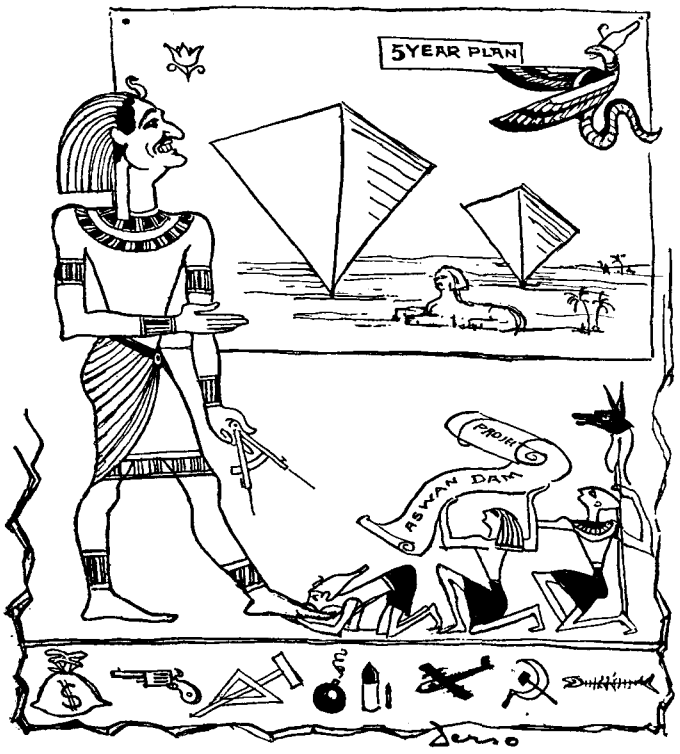

So Dmitri Shepilov and Krishna Menon offered their compromise to the compromise, with provisions to make it plain beyond peradventure that Mr. Dulles' international board would be only the shadow of a shadow. Nasser, meanwhile, though mounted on an insolvent nation and a ramshackle army, did not talk compromise. He maintained his right to mastery of the canal—by the very direct means of exercising it.

Rival

We had simply assumed that Governor Clement had won for all time the title of Most Vulgar Exhibitor at a national convention. But last week he was seriously challenged—by a string of female automatons who one after another disgorged a series of stomach-turning platitudes fashioned around the legend, R-E-P-U-B-L-I-C-A-N W-O-M-E-N.

The "A" in "Republican," for instance, stood for "Atoms for Peace." When A's turn came—a similar performance having honored R-E-P-U-B-L-I-C—a young thing dressed as though she was about to run the 220 for Mother Sparta, tripped in holding aloft a huge placard bearing the holy words. A second lady, a publisher from somewhere, described what Atoms for Peace, the A-blessing of the Eisenhower Administration, meant to *her*. What it meant, *believe it or not*, was "A wholesome sandwich of the bread of peaceful living, with a filling of idealism."

Turn *that* woman loose on a keynote and Governor Clement is a goner.

Why Platforms?

The symbolism was refreshingly honest when the Republican Convention unanimously adopted the 13,500-word Party Platform without having read or discussed a single word of it. Televiewers were thus spared the nuisance of turning the set off for an hour and a half, as they had had to do the preceding week while a relay of earnest subcommittee chairmen read successive paragraphs of the Democratic document to the empty seats of the convention hall.

Party Platforms do perform a function in the American political process, but not that which the textbooks and orators declare. Platforms are not, and are not intended to be, public documents. The public, with sound instinct, never looks at them. Their provisions do not of themselves commit the incoming Administration to any precise course. No one any more, except pedants, finds it anomalous that a Wilson gets us into a war, a Harding into a scandal and a Roosevelt into a deficit after their Platforms have respectively promised peace, honesty, and a balanced budget. No one thinks it odd even when a candidate, like Stevenson, disregards a big plank of the Platform within twenty-four hours of its adoption, in his very acceptance speech.

The Platform is an esoteric, inner-Party, *professional* device. Changing the usual metaphor, the planks of the Platform are bolts that hold together the often disparate elements of the Party machine; or more exactly perhaps, a blueprint showing the placement and nature of those bolts. Our two parties are not cohesive ideological or class formations, such as exist in the many-partied political systems of most parliamentary countries. They are electoral machines: loose, shifting coalitions of many groups and sections. Under many-partied systems, coalitions are formed in the parliament *after* elections, and usually re-form several times during the life of a particular parliament. In our system, the coalition is formed before and for an election, and usually endures for the full career of an Administration, or at least of a Congress.

The Platform is the compact that implicitly states the terms on which the coalition takes shape, and the relative weight of its components. Each group which, as evidenced by the Party compact, enters the coalition is pledged to fight for the Party's ticket, but otherwise retains its autonomy. Ideologically a group is bound only by its own section of the Platform, and free to advance on other matters its own distinctive point of view. Walter Reuther and Governor Timmerman will both, presumably, vote for Adlai Stevenson, but in pursuit of differing, even opposite, ideological goals.

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So interpreted, the Platforms and the differences between them can be understood well enough. Is the Democratic anti-segregation plank milder this year, and the Republican stronger? This means, as the professionals understand it, that the South, which strayed in 1948 and 1952, is back in the Democratic fold this time, except perhaps for a fringe state or two; whereas the Republicans are making a bigger play for Negro support in big northern cities. Do the Democrats propose to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act, and the Republicans merely to amend it? This means that the bulk of the labor bureaucracy remains within the Democratic coalition, and that the Republicans, accepting that fact, lower their sights to workers who for one reason or another may be out of sympathy with the union officialdom. Does the Democratic wording on the domestic economy sound like welfare statism tempered by capitalism, and the Republican like capitalism tempered by welfare statism? This means merely that most of the business community keeps inside the Republican frame.

Kreuttner

"Although unalterably opposed to the Indispensable Man theory, we have it from sources close to the Third Putting Green that he feels Fitter, more High-Minded, and less likely to show up at his desk than ever!"

Even on foreign policy, the planks reflect the pressures of domestic voting more than those of foreign threats. The respective planks on Israel express a wistful Republican hope and a solid Democratic expectation concerning the Jewish vote in the big cities. Reversing the 1952 ratio, the Democrats' "liberation" plank is stronger than that of the Republicans: because nationality groups that swung toward Eisenhower in 1952 have been drifting back into their normal Democratic linkage, and the Democratic professionals want to hold them at least through November.

Lawyers for the Constitution

The American Bar Association, meeting this week in Dallas, will have before it a report from its Commerce Committee on three issues which have become subject to sharp conflicts in Congress. On each the recommendation of the Committee is sound in substance, and thoroughly in accord with American constitutional tradition.

The first proposes re-enactment of the "natural gas bill" vetoed by President Eisenhower on the irrelevant grounds of "arrogant" lobbying. The second opposes the plan sponsored by Senator Gore for building six government-owned nuclear power plants. The Bar Association's Committee, rejecting the statist solution on principle, argues also that private development will lead more quickly to cheap, competitive energy from nuclear processes.

The third recommendation is for a change in congressional rules to require an explicit statement if a new federal law is intended to supersede existing state laws and pre-empt the juridical field in question. This change would make impossible such confusion as arose over the Supreme Court's decision, in the Steve Nelson case, that the Internal Security Act and the Smith Act had invalidated the state sedition laws.

The Bar Association will do well to put copies of this admirably reasoned report into the hands of all candidates for the new Congress.

First 1095 Days

Anything the Fund for the Republic regards as net gain NATIONAL REVIEW is pretty sure to regard as net loss; and what the Fund regards as work—as in the title of its newly-issued *Report on Three Years' Work* —NATIONAL REVIEW is pretty sure to regard as mischief. We nevertheless welcome the report, because it provides the kind of data one needs in order to answer the vexed question, Are the Liberals (as some among us are inclined to believe) harmful in direct proportion to the amount of money and brains placed at their disposal?

We venture, for the moment, only this cautious and preliminary answer to that question: The contents of the *Report* are, to some extent, reassuring. After three years of the Fund's operations, the Republic is, after all, still there. The Fund has, to be sure, spent only a third of its original grant. But it has not, Heaven knows, been stingy, and since it must realize that there is plenty more where the original grant came from, that must mean there are limits on how fast money can be spent on respectable subversion. This, clearly, is because at some point, and rather earlier

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than we in our unoptimistic way would have expected, you run out of—No, not topics to be researched, because as any reader of the *Report* will see for himself you can always get a new one by restating one you already have—but Liberal scholars whose deans and department heads can spare them from mischief-making in the classroom. The capitalists' capital is, for the moment, subject to diminishing returns here as elsewhere. And if these things are indeed true, we can all sleep more comfortably in our beds.

As for the actual activities the Fund has under way, the record is mixed. Sometimes—as with the Stouffer report on *Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties,* which showed that there is an overwhelming public opinion in favor of drastic internal security measures—the Fund buys itself a boomerang. In one case, Professor Earl Latham's not-yet-published report on *Communism in Government,* the Directors have delivered themselves into the hands of a man whose past scholarly achievements render it unlikely that he will come up with the kind of irresponsible scare-stuff they dearly want. And sometimes, as with that phase of its activities that the Fund calls "The Communist Record," the data to be canvassed are so inconvenient to the Fund's purposes, and so well-known to a number of reputable conservative scholars, as to provide highly comforting guarantees against tendentious manipulation.

In general, however, topics and research directors have been so chosen and so matched as to enable the prediction that the Directors will get what they want, namely: a maximum mobilization of research skills for the purpose of misrepresenting the true meaning of civil liberties, of distorting the facts about the present status of civil liberties in the United States, and of confusing the civil liberties issues that now lie before the nation. Indeed, the most frightening single fact about the *Report* is the impudence with which the cynics who control the Fund openly put the noble symbols and vocabulary of freedom to work in the interest of Liberal conformity.

These Pesky Voters

Do you remember way back when (in the dim recesses of last winter it was: see NATIONAL REVIEW, Dec. 7, 1955) Governor Fred Hall, a young Liberal Lochinvar from Kansas, was burning up the TV circuits? He was feted in Washington, Boston and Manhattan as he unfurled the banners of a Newer Deal Eisenhower Republicanism compounded of welfare statism, foreign aid *and* 100 per cent parity. He was anointed by Milton Eisenhower, Paul Hoffman and Sherman Adams. The wise men pointed to him as a real "comer," and many prophesied that he was on his way to "the national ticket."

Alas! Liberal heads in the Sunflower State are bowed in fresh sorrow. Governor Hall, though he campaigned for renomination with all the blessings (literal as well as figurative) of the Liberal Machine and its trade-union auxiliaries, was badly licked in the Republican primary. His successful rival is a plain, unabashed, hard-fighting conservative—State Representative Warren W. Shaw. The deciding issue, which Mr. Shaw made the key target of his attack, was Governor Hall's veto of a right-to-work law that would have outlawed the union shop.

Capital G

We once received an irate letter from a vigilant church group in a small Midwestern town objecting to our use, on a television panel program, of the phrase "Thank God." The churchmen had automatically assumed that anyone who thanked God on a TV panel was blaspheming. We wrote back and said that, strange as it might seem, we had *not* used the word God either blasphemously *or* figuratively. We *meant* to thank *God,* and we *thanked* Him, and the devil with the complaint.

There is need for plain, nonmetaphoric talk about religion these days, as the amazement of the churchmen at an authentic invocation of God's help illustrates. Religion still is more, for millions upon millions of people, than a useful symbol, an embellishment of language, or a psychotherapeutic instrument. For that reason we regret that the Board of Education of the City of New York has bowed to the pressure of those who either object to the use of the word God except as a figure of speech, or who see Cupid engaged in uniting Church and State every time any semi-public group mentions reverentially the name of the Lord. The Board has revised, and diluted, a five-year-old Statement of Moral and Spiritual Training in the Schools which called God, God, and otherwise affronted the aforementioned persons.

Still, the new version by no means abandons the field altogether. The new statement, which will be defended and attacked at a public hearing on August 30 in New York, insists on the need for stressing moral and spiritual values in the schools. And in its closing sentence, repeats the language of the earlier declaration by calling on the school to "fulfill its high function of supplementing the training of the home, ever intensifying in the child that love of God, for parents and for home, which is the mark of true character training and the sure guarantee of a country's welfare."

We pray—yes, *pray*—that public opinion will let the statement stand, as a guide to generations of schoolteachers.

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NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

Those Smiles at San Francisco

Len Hall's

The political wisdom of Len Hall's insistence on Nixon is increasingly obvious. So much so that, after San Francisco, the burden is on Mr. Hall to prove that he didn't put Stassen up to the job of showing how insistent he, and therefore the Administration, really were. Not since Chiang Kai-shek was "unleashed" early in 1953 had the Administration intentionally thrown a crumb in the direction of "Taft Republicans," and Hall was wise enough to know that a new concession, and a seemingly important one, was long overdue. The result, or so it seemed to be, was that the Taft wing was graciously permitted to have its way about Nixon. With the further result that everyone *was* happy at San Francisco, just as everyone said.

It would, of course, be quite crazy to suggest that an Administration decision to dump Nixon would have prompted a revolt at the convention. Or anything like it. But it might well have dampened the campaign ardor of a good number of people who are counted on to round up votes for the Republican ticket. That prospect Len Hall feared like the plague.

It was all very well, Hall knew, to think about the "'independent vote," which Dewey got in 1948. But it was perhaps equally important to think about the Republican vote, some of which Dewey did not get in 1948. Hall knew, moreover, that in 1956 he had a Presidential candidate who could be counted on to do pretty well with the independents—the health issue notwithstanding. Less clear was how his Presidential candidate would fare with several million voters who vote Republican when they're interested, and otherwise don't vote at all. Hall's problem, which *he* saw quite free of ideological complications, was to get Party workers busy on the job of drumming up interest in the election. Nixon was a possible answer because large numbers of Party workers still thought of themselves as the "Taft wing" of the GOP, and because, for reasons best known to itself, the Taft wing had increasingly come to view Nixon's cause as its own.

The strategy, thanks most especially to Harold Stassen, worked out fine. Thanks to Nixon being made an "issue," conservative Republicans at

Hall

San Francisco had the feeling that in a small sense this was their convention too, and they left San Francisco with every Liberal columnist in sight acknowledging that they had won a notable victory. But the big reason behind Len Hall's smile was that never before in political history had a factional "victory" been won so inexpensively as regards Party harmony and unity. In the convention's only battle, lots of people thought they won, and nobody thought he lost, save possibly brave Harold who was always going to vote Republican anyway.

Nixon's

A search for real victors on the San Francisco battlefield turns up only one man, and there's the reason for Dick Nixon's smile. For reasons that Administration leaders who connived in Len Hall's strategy may not have thought through (though again, depending on what *they* know about Nixon, they may have thought through very carefully), the Vice President has emerged as a powerful figure, in his own right, in the Republican Party.

Given Mr. Eisenhower's tentative endorsement of Nixon, and given Mr. Hall's decision to give the convention the trappings of an "open" affair, the result could not, of course, have been otherwise. Nixon was put in the position of having to "win" the nomination, and win it he did, decisively. He won it after an impressive demonstration of personal popularity and strength which, real or unreal, added enormously to his stature. The way things looked, the Republican Party was surer that it wanted Nixon than the President was; and such appearances will be a considerable asset to Dick Nixon in future political battles. Should Nixon become President in the next four years, he will be a great deal more than a constitutional legatee, more even than a popular President's chosen successor. He will have, at the outset, a position of personal strength quite superior to that of any succeeding Vice President in our history. And should Mr. Eisenhower live out his term, Nixon, on the strength of his 1956 triumph, will clearly be the man to beat for the 1960 Presidential nomination. The point is not that Nixon is as strong with the Party organization as appeared at San Francisco, but rather that no one is able to say, for sure, that he is not that strong. In such circumstances, the tendency is usually to join rather than to oppose, so that if Nixon's strength is illusory in 1956, it will probably have become real by 1960. Tom Dewey, who is usually a step ahead of most other people in such matters, was caught the other day by the Alsop Brothers anticipating this very situation.

The Conservatives'

The smile on the face of the GOP's Right Wing is not so easy to explain. Let's avoid the debate about whether Nixon is, at heart, a Conservative or a Liberal, because it is, and will re-

(*Continued on p. 16*)

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The Campaign

SAM M. JONES

They're Off!

In attempting to calculate the starting odds in the Big Race, the form sheet is an inadequate guide. Past performance does not provide a criterion from which to draw a conclusion—or establish a basis for the betting. Past performance itself needs a second look. Track conditions are not the same. The entries are the same, yet *not* the same. Four years have made changes in both, and they have made changes in public opinion. Let's take a brief backward glance at "*les temps perdu.*"

At the pinnacle of Eisenhower's fame and popularity in 1952, when "Trumanism" was an epithet, when the country was soul-sick of the Korean debacle, Adlai Stevenson, scarcely known to the general public, won the electoral votes of nine states —Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and West Virginia. These states gave the Governor a total of 89 electoral ballots as opposed to General Eisenhower's 442. The nation-wide popular vote was 33,936,252 for Ike; 27,314,992 for Adlai.

These statistics do much to explain the confidence, not to say the complacency, that exists among the leaders as well as the rank and file of the Republican Party today. But there are other statistics which Mr. Stevenson and his advisers find stimulating and encouraging.

The Hoover landslide of 1928 chewed up the Solid South even worse than the Eisenhower "crusade." The Republicans took North Carolina as well as Virginia, Florida and Texas—and all the border states. Herbert Hoover received 444 electoral votes; Al Smith, 87. The popular totals were: Hoover, 21,392,190; Smith, 15,016,443. Four years later FDR, with the assistance of a world-wide depression, smashed the GOP to smithereens. Roosevelt received 472 electoral and 22,821,857 popular votes, Hoover 59 and 15,761,841. Mr. Hoover carried six states: Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Delaware and Pennsylvania.

Some Democrats take heart from this illustration of how quickly and completely the wheel can turn. But the more astute politicians recognize the decisive part played by soup kitchens, bread lines and unemployment. Democratic realists prefer to base their calculations (and hopes) on the lessons of the '48 campaign, when the Republicans (as now) were expecting an easy victory.

The Lessons of '48

Mr. Truman demonstrated in '48 that the Democrats could lose a segment of the South (to the States' Rights Party) as well as the combined electoral votes of New York and Pennsylvania—and still win. Mr. Truman received 303 electoral votes to Dewey's 189; 39 went to Strom Thurmond. In the popular totals, 24,105,812 ballots were marked for Truman; 21,970,065 for Dewey. Governor Dewey carried sixteen states. If he had carried three more (California, Illinois and Ohio), he would have been elected President. A shift of 10,000 votes (out of a total of 3,808,403) would have put California in the Republican column. Dewey lost Illinois by 33,612 (3,855,818 votes were cast). He lost Ohio by less than eight thousand votes (2,898,475 votes were cast).

Martin

The lessons of '48 were a disillusionment to both parties. The traditional importance of Southern solidarity to the Democratic Party diminished. The Republicans found that New York, with the largest electoral vote of any state, and Pennsylvania with the second largest (tied with California) could be carried—and still be insufficient bellwethers of a GOP victory. It was necessary for political analysts to revise long-established convictions.

Langlie

The 1952 elections provided a post-graduate course in the new political concept. Eisenhower didn't need the Southern break, and if Stevenson had carried all Southern states and five border states, his total electoral vote would have been 217—49 short of election. In his recent unsuccessful bid for the Democratic Presidential nomination, Averell Harriman was prepared to write off the South entirely, relying on the big Eastern states and a scattering of Midwestern and Western states.

It was not an unrealistic program, and to a very large extent it is the present program of the Republican Party. Despite Len Hall's contention that the GOP will carry more Southern states in '56 than in '52, many impartial observers believe that Eisenhower will not carry a single state in the deep South. In a popularity contest neither Stevenson nor

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Eisenhower will set Dixie on fire, but Stevenson is a Democrat.

Its Republican interlude has left the South less than happy. So far as the GOP is concerned, Eisenhower can afford to kiss the South goodby, as well as the border states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia. The Republican candidate can in fact lose 34 states and still win a majority of the electoral vote. But he cannot lose the South, the border states *and* New York, *or* Pennsylvania, *or* California, without putting a Democrat in the White House.

Mr. Eisenhower could be re-elected by the following 16 states: New York (45 electoral votes); Pennsylvania (32); California (32); Illinois (27); Ohio (25); Michigan (20); New Jersey (16); Indiana (13); Wisconsin (12); Minnesota (11); Iowa (10); Kansas (8); Nebraska (6); Maine (5); South Dakota (4); and Vermont (3). The electoral vote of these states totals 278—a majority. Many of these

Nixon

states are traditionally Republican. The Democrats have no clear advantage in any of them at this time; but the states with the biggest electoral count are definitely fighting ground.

I do not suggest that these are the only states that Eisenhower will carry or that he will carry all of them. It is simply an illustration of how the Republicans could win a majority in the electoral college with just one-third of the 48 states.

Mr. Stevenson, on the other hand, would need one more state—17 in all. The Southern states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas have a combined total of 117 electoral votes. West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and Oklahoma have fifty. If the Democrats could capture all of these—and New York's 45 votes—the total would be 262, four short of a majority. Almost any additional state would more than make up the deficit. With the exception of New York, all of the states in this list are either solidly Democratic or leaning Democratic. In the four Southern states that went Republican in '52—Virginia, Florida, Tennessee and Texas—there seems at present little chance of a repetition this year (except possibly in Florida).

Resurgence in '54

A resurgence of Democratic strength was plainly evident in the elections of 1954 when both House and Senate went to the opposition despite a plea from Mr. Eisenhower for a Republican Congress. For the practical purposes of the present campaign, the ousting of Republican Governors, particularly in New York and Pennsylvania, was a far more strategic Democratic victory than carrying the House and Senate.

The normal Democratic margin in New York City in a Presidential election is between four and five hundred thousand. Republicans have a rule of thumb that calls for at least half a million majority upstate to offset the City vote. In 1952, Tom Dewey and his terrific machine so materially assisted Eisenhower's popularity that the Stevenson edge was only 22,000 in the five boroughs of New York City.

The GOP machine at Harrisburg, Pa., with its state-wide patronage power, played an important role in giving the Republican candidate a plurality of 269,000 (out of 4,561,000) in Pennsylvania. But even with the advantage of state control, Eisenhower lost Pittsburgh (Allegheny County) by 11,000 votes, and the ancient Republican citadel of Philadelphia by 161,000.

Despite the Supreme Court decision on integration under a Republican Administration, enunciated by a Chief Justice appointed by a Republican President, there is no evidence that the Negro vote in Northern cities will return to the party of Lincoln. There is, however, overwhelming evidence that the decision, and the Administration's stand on integra-

Herter

tion, have seriously undermined Mr. Eisenhower's popularity with Southern whites.

The current improvement in farm prices may have slowed or even stopped the rural drift away from the GOP, but my recent travels through the farm belt (plus subsequent reports from correspondents) supplied clear indications of a weakening in Eisenhower's popularity and a brightened outlook for Democratic candidates for Congress. October prices may more truly foreshadow the November vote, but the Republican Party and Mr. Eisenhower would not, as of now, make a showing remotely comparable to that of '52 in many agricultural areas.

The support of Labor leaders and union dollars is a mixed Democratic blessing. It has been repeatedly demonstrated that union members vote their own preference rather than that of the union bosses. Taft's unprecedented victory in 1950, against the greatest combine of Labor organizations and the biggest bundle of

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ARTS and MANNERS

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Two Cheers for Betty Furness, none for Stevenson

Our learned and knowing contemporary, the *New York Daily News,* announced in a general preview of the Republican shindig in San Francisco that "the entire convention will be tailored for the vast TV audience, with short speeches, plenty of music and entertainments and stunts." This, indeed, was what we were afraid of the preceding five days, looking at a TV spectacular that purported to be Democracy in Action.

The same day I got frightened by the *Daily News,* an Associated Press dispatch from Chicago reported that more than ten million words had been telegraphed through the city's Western Union from and about the Democratic TV spectacular to newspapers all over the world. (Ten million words, just to pass on my fright to tried and tired readers, equal 10,000 pages of NATIONAL REVIEW.) And I finally learned, also from the *Daily News,* that "movie star George Murphy, assistant to National Chairman Leonard Hall, has lined up a parade of Hollywood and Broadway celebrities to perform at various sessions."

So, even if there were no other reasons, this department must divert some of the attention it normally pays to Elvis Presley to the two national conventions. The San Francisco parade of Hollywood and Broadway celebrities being, at the moment of writing, still ahead of me, I shall not know for several days how much Lucy Loves Ike and what Mr. Robert Montgomery's star performer has prepared in the way of short speeches and music and entertainments and stunts. But I can deliver my considered opinion on the spectacular produced by the Democrats. Briefly, it stank.

The script, to begin with, was amateurish. Even the most reckless pulp writer would not have dared present such an impudent and wholly invented caricature of professional politics and politicians. Such figures as "Governor Clement of Tennessee" and "Carmine De Sapio of New York" and "Governor Soapy Williams of Michigan" simply do not exist in a reality which, God knows, is bad enough but not *that* bad.

Secondly, the performers were not just poor but impossible. The actor who played one of the heavies, a "Governor Harriman of New York," could not land a job with a seventh or thirteenth road company of *Oklahoma!* which, as God also knows, is not particularly choosy. The man who impersonated Ex-President Truman could, in my opinion, be sued by Mr. Truman for damage and would, in any other country, be indicted for lèse majesté. The star of the production, playing Governor Adlai Stevenson, simulated in rare moments the Bob Hopesque whimsicality of the real Mr. Stevenson quite amusingly, but, on the whole, gave the self-conscious performance of a mediocre man who is overawed by the greatness of the character he is supposed to impersonate. Mr. Stevenson, I am sure, would be the first to admit that even he is human—a quality the TV actor who was playing Stevenson could not for a moment put across. He struck me, all the time, as a puppet of pride, made even more strident by an arrogant display of humility. (His "friendly grin," in particular, was downright unbearable. Even the actor playing "Governor Soapy Williams" grinned more believably.)

The total production was cheap and often atrocious. With the single exception of Miss Betty Furness, who played a well-dressed TV announcer in a hilariously overdone spoof on TV advertising, nobody went even to the trouble of obtaining a competent make-up. (The actor impersonating "Senator Kefauver" dissolved to a blot of blood, sweat and tears each time he appeared on my TV screen—an obscene sight which, in my opinion, is hardly admissible in an entertainment medium planned for the clean average American family.)

In a spirit of utter exhaustion and ultimate futility I must take special exception to the pathetic little trick the producer retreated to each time even he realized that he was showing a turkey—namely, the completely unrelated close-ups of so-called pretty girls. I am second to none, especially second to no Democrat, in appreciating pretty girls but, like a devout connoisseur, I insist that pretty girls be presented at the time and place they are due. To have the company of a pretty girl forced upon me while I remain the captive audience of the Chairman of the Delegation from the Sunshine State of Florida is excruciatingly bad taste.

It is, intellectually as well as esthetically, every bit as moronic as the stereotyped reply of the Moscow guide in that famous story. The guide, you will recall, was demonstrating the marble wonders of the Moscow subway station when the American tourist matter-of-factly interjected that, come to think of it, in seven minutes not a single train had passed through the sumptuous station. "Ah yes," the guide came savagely back at him, "but what about the Negro situation in your South?" The Convention bores the hell out of you? Ah yes, but look how pretty a girl can be!

True, forty minutes of the last day had about as much suspense as, say, that daily TV show for children, "The Cisco Kid." I mean, of course, the horse-race between Kefauver and Kennedy—though even that minor joy was somewhat spoiled for me by the involuntary joke that the two contestants indeed looked like nothing so much as horses. Somehow even that minor drama left me cold—perhaps because I never could believe that human beings were involved.

And now I am trying to recuperate but, as always in moments of complete exhaustion, the abused mind cannot leave the offensive images. I close my eyes—and I see Carmine De Sapio. I look at a tree caressed by the wind—and I see James Roosevelt. My system is poisoned. It will take time to exhale the foul air of the Convention hall. No matter how short the speeches are—there will always be those confounded entertainments and stunts! And there will be another week, an entire week like this: nothing to look forward to but the Westinghouse commercial.

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From Hollywood

MORRIE RYSKIND

San Francisco: An Egg Is Laid

Let's face it, boys and girls: now that we've had a look at both national conventions we must admit that as a spectacle, and that's what it was designed for, the Republican conclave at San Francisco doesn't belong in the same league with the Democratic conclave at Chicago. True, the GOP management spared no expense: they assembled a good cast; the sets were lavish, the ladies and gentlemen of the ensemble were well-costumed, and the music (by Irving Berlin) was pleasant, if slightly worn. Yet the fact remains that the audience yawned all through it and at least a dozen critics, watching the pedestrian plot unroll, walked out before it was over. Book trouble, we used to call it.

Maybe nothing could have followed that Chicago circus. I don't want to get into the feud between Brooks Atkinson and Willi Schlamm on the subject of whether or not this is the greatest theatrical era of all time, but I am certain that the Democratic National Convention came up with the best show of the season and I hereby offer it as the only logical candidate for the Pulitzer Prize, the Critics' Award, the Peabody Plaque, the Carnegie Medal, the Legion of Honor and four stars in the *Daily News*.

From the opening chorus, when the Tennessee hillbilly had the audience rocking and rolling with him, to the exciting horse-race between Kefauver and Kennedy, it had everything a good musical should have. There was the great, heart-warming love story in the true American tradition: the beautiful heroine whose folks wanted her to marry the elderly rich millionaire (Harriman: $80 million) who threatened to forclose on the old homestead otherwise; the motley crew of assorted villains who put the heroine on the railroad track and threatened to run over her unless she yielded; and the poor but noble hero (Stevenson: $2 million) who triumphed over overwhelming odds, routed the dastards, and won his bride. Love conquers all, as it must in a good show. With a plot like that, how can you miss?

And that was only the first act. In the remote possibility that you didn't get the point, they did it over again in the second act with Kefauver and Kennedy, and who can forget that final scene of forgiveness and unity when the wicked hit the sawdust trail and repented of their ways? Who among the millions who watched did not weep as Truman embraced Stevenson, Kefauver embraced Nancy, and Georgia embraced Congressman Dawson?

Supporting Cast

Nor was it just the stars who played their roles to the hilt. There were superb performances turned in by an excellent supporting cast; too many to mention in this limited review. But we can't omit the business-like Sam Rayburn, grown slightly deaf with advancing years and perhaps unable to detect a "no" when he calls for a vote, but still a man who wields the most potent gavel of our time. Nor the beloved Harry Truman, once a star in his own right, and now a magnificent character-actor. Those of us old enough to remember Mr. Truman's famous impersonation of Counterspy, when he explained that he had promoted Harry Dexter White instead of jailing him in order better to keep an eye on the so-and-so, have always regarded it as the best exposition of double talk in our time and doubted it would ever be equaled. Yet, in what may be his last appearance, the ex-champ rose to the occasion and surpassed himself as he wiggled out of a situation that would have stumped Houdini. It was at least triple-talk and made double-talk seem as outmoded as the rifle in this atomic age.

Against this array of masterful showmanship, the Republican effort looked weak and amateurish. True, they had some excellent isolated bits to offer: Bill Knowland, Governor Langlie and Herbert Hoover. But they had little to do with the main plot. Everett Dirksen did what he could in a minor role: for one moment, when he arose, I hoped his pointing finger would find Tom Dewey and his slashing tongue would again issue lightning and thunder—but Dirksen, abiding by the rules of Actors' Equity, stuck to the dull script. A fine actor, palpably miscast.

Aristotle pointed out a long time ago—and whoever the author of this show is, he hasn't read his Aristotle lately—that the audience must be able to identify itself with the main character. And the main character, in order for the audience to glow and achieve the necessary catharsis, must fight — as the Democrats knew — against a terrible foe.

Well, who and what did Ike have to lick in this convention? There were no armies of Germany to knock out; there was no Taft to conquer. All he had arrayed against him was ileitis. That's a little as though Joe Louis, in his heyday, were matched against the boxing champ of Vassar. What would you have grossed at the box office with that one?

And how about that scrap between Nixon and Stassen compared to the Kefauver-Kennedy rough-and-tumble? The greatest fizzle of the century —and, I suspect, of any century. Don Quixote was just as nearsighted as Stassen, but he at least had a sword when he attacked a windmill. This Don Quixote didn't have a sword or even a spit-ball and he didn't even have the help of Sancho Panza—at any rate, up to this writing, nobody has admitted being Sancho. Even ileitis, I insist, would have put up a better scrap against Nixon, and you know what I think of ileitis.

No, the thing for the Republicans to do is to forget the whole thing and write it off as a loss. The Democrats, on the other hand, have (with a little pruning of some dull spots furnished by Senators Morse and Kerr) a sure hit on their hands. Played with the original cast, they can bring it to Broadway, where it should run for at least four years—right through the second Administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower.

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Court or Constitution?

The Supreme Court's steady usurpation of power has endangered the Constitution, says Mr. Hazlitt, who suggests means of putting a stop to it

HENRY HAZLITT

Since 1937, when Franklin D. Roosevelt put forward his proposal to pack the Supreme Court, a constitutional crisis has been slowly building up. Since the desegregation decision of 1954, and a whole series of decisions this year, the crisis has become more serious.

There are three great issues at stake. The first is whether the Constitution is to be amended by the method provided by the Constitution itself, or whether it is to be amended or, rather, eroded, under the guise of "interpretations" by the Supreme Court. The second great issue is whether the traditional balance of powers between the legislative, executive and judicial branches of the federal government is to be preserved, or whether the Supreme Court is to be allowed to act, in effect, as a Third Legislative House, which can nullify the intent of Congress or set aside executive rulings which it doesn't like, but from whose own decisions there can be no appeal or any other recourse. The third great issue is whether the states are to exercise the rights and prerogatives and the extent of self-rule explicitly reserved to them by the Founding Fathers, or whether the states are to become meaningless subdivisions under an all-powerful central government in Washington.

This whole problem has arisen in large part because, though the intent of the framers of the Constitution is in most respects quite clear, the language of the document they framed is at a few crucial points vague and indefinite.

"The Constitution," once wrote Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, "is what the Supreme Court says it is." We need not inquire here whether this was said approvingly or ironically. It unfortunately describes a present fact. And yet it may be doubted whether a single framer of the Constitution intended this result. All that the Constitution itself says about the Supreme Court is that "the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court . . ." Nowhere does the Constitution explicitly declare that the Supreme Court has the power to interpret it, much less that it has the *exclusive* and *unchallengeable* power to interpret it. This power has come in part through the implications of "the judicial power," and in part through successive decisions and claims of the Supreme Court itself.

Thus it has finally come about that "the Constitution is what the Supreme Court says it is." But suppose the Court says, in effect, that black is white? Suppose it keeps stretching the powers of Congress under the interstate commerce clause to the point where "power to regulate commerce *among* the several States" is finally interpreted to mean power to regulate commerce *within* each state? Suppose the Court ignores the unequivocal declaration of the Ninth, and particularly of the Tenth Amendment? ("The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.") Suppose the Court not only ignores the Tenth Amendment, but actually stands it on its head, reverses it by the doctrine of "pre-emption," under which, in the language of a recent Supreme Court decision, when "Congress has occupied a field to the exclusion of parallel State legislation . . . the dominant interest of the Federal Government precludes State intervention."

I need not recite here in detail the appalling extent to which usurpation by the Supreme Court has already gone, both in eroding or ignoring states' rights in favor of constant federal encroachments, and in usurping even federal legislative powers and executive discretion, in favor of its own arbitrary legislation or discretion. Former Supreme Court Justice James F. Byrnes has already pointed out, in a powerful article in *U.S. News & World Report,* that in its desegregation decision of May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court not only reversed what had been the law of the land (by former Supreme Court decisions) for seventy-five years, but that in this case "The Court did not interpret the Constitution—the Court amended it." Former Justice Byrnes went on to point out "the harm done to the entire country by the demonstrated willingness of the Supreme Court to disregard our written Constitution and its own decisions, invalidate the laws of the States, and substitute for these a policy of its own, supported not by legal precedents but by the writings of sociologists."

Incredible Decision

To cite only one other crucial case, the Supreme Court declared that the Smith anti-sedition act "pre-empted" the field of sedition legislation for the federal government, and invalidated all state laws on sedition. This incredible decision was made, as three dissenting justices of the Court themselves pointed out, in the face of the "clear authorization of Congress" of state legislation for the same purpose. For a summary of no less astounding decisions by the Supreme Court in the last term, I may refer the reader to the *New York Times* column of Arthur Krock of June 14, and to the article by John

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A. Grimes in the *Wall Street Journal* of June 26.

Unfortunately the remedy for the present state of affairs is probably not simple. The present crisis has been made possible, as we have seen, partly by vagueness in some clauses of the Constitution itself. Corrections will probably have to be attempted from several directions.

Suggested Remedies

Let us list some of the main possible remedies, beginning with those most likely to prove acceptable or feasible politically.

1. We might begin by expressing the belief that the present Supreme Court ought to make more reasonable and less dangerous decisions. But this in itself would probably have no more effect than a preacher's declaration that everybody should obey the Ten Commandments.

2. Congress should pass a bill along the lines of the one already approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee, under which no act of Congress would be construed as indicating an intent on the part of Congress to occupy the field in which that act operates, to the exclusion of all state laws on the subject matter, unless the act contains express provision to that effect.

3. Whenever the Court attributes any intent to any congressional law that Congress did not mean to put there, Congress should immediately pass a new law or resolution clarifying its real intent. In fact, whenever the Court hands down a decision that in the opinion of Congress goes beyond the limits of the Constitution, Congress should either amend the law under which the Court's decision was made, or pass a joint resolution declaring its own opinion that the Court's decision went beyond the Constitution. Such a joint resolution would not, of course, prevail over the Court's opinion. But it would exercise considerable moral effect both on the Court and on public opinion, and the Court might reverse its opinion at the next opportunity. Congress, in fact, as well as the President, has a clear duty to uphold the Constitution as it understands it. Failure to perform this duty, even as against a decision of the Supreme Court, is a form of nonfeasance.

4. Within certain limits, the states have both the right and the duty to resort to "interposition"—official action to question the constitutionality of a policy approved by the federal government. Carried too far, interposition could be as dangerous to the Union as the Supreme Court's usurpations have been to states' rights. But as Felix Morley pointed out in a brilliant article in the *Wall Street Journal* of February 16, there is now in effect no mechanism, other than interposition, available to a state which considers that its reserved powers are being usurped by the central government.

5. The President in nominating and the Senate in approving nominations to the Supreme Court should, of course, act far more carefully and responsibly than they have in the past. It is irresponsible and dangerous to continue the practice of using Supreme Court appointments as a means of paying political debts to lame-duck politicians looking for a quiet life and an easy berth. But merely to enunciate this principle would have little effect.

Types of Amendment

This brings us to the need for constitutional amendments. These may be divided into amendments affecting the Supreme Court itself and amendments of a wider bearing.

6. A constitutional amendment directly affecting the Supreme Court itself might continue to leave the President wide discretion in nominating candidates to the lower federal courts, but provide that he could nominate to the Supreme Court itself only judges who had served, say, at least four years either as federal judges or as members of the higher state courts. This would prevent direct appointment to the Supreme Court of men with no previous judicial experience whatever.

An amendment of this type might also limit the number of Supreme Court justices to nine (to prevent any future court-packing threats). It might go on to provide a maximum term of eighteen years for any one judge, without eligibility to reappointment. These terms might overlap so that each incumbent President would have the power of appointing at least two justices during a single term of office, thus renewing the Court in a more regular manner than at present. Justices whose terms had expired might have the choice of continuing to serve on other courts of the federal judiciary or retiring on a liberal pension. The purpose of making them ineligible to reappointment would be to remove any temptation to make decisions to please the existing occupant of the Presidency, so assuring continuance of judicial independence.

7. The Constitution might be amended to provide that if the attorneys general in a majority of the states either collectively or individually filed notice that in their opinion a particular decision of the Supreme Court transgressed the province of states' right or states' jurisdiction, the Court's opinion would not stand in this respect unless it was reaffirmed by at least six affirmative votes. This would give the states a limited veto power analogous to that of the President over congressional legislation. It would force the Supreme Court to reconsider its decision, and to confirm it by at least a two-thirds majority.

The purpose of such an amendment would be to offset, in some degree, the one-sidedness of the constitutional interpreting powers as they have historically developed. For today the Constitution is interpreted, for all practical purposes, exclusively by a *federal* body. Every member of the Supreme Court owes his appointment exclusively to a federal President and a federal Senate. It is not merely that gratitude or a sense of obligation might unconsciously influence a justice to vote for an increasing expansion of federal powers at the expense of the states; he may very well have been appointed and confirmed in the first place because he was already known to favor a "broad" interpretation of the Constitution making for the further expansion of federal powers. A limited veto by the attorneys general would supply at least some countervailing check by the states.

8. It would probably be wise, finally, to amend the amendatory process itself of the Constitution, in order to make it easier and less dilatory. The effect of the present difficult and long-drawn-out process of amendment has been, ironically, less

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to preserve constitutional safeguards than to destroy them. For it has led to a rationalization of bypassing or circumventing the prescribed processes of amendment in favor of short cuts by usurpation. When Franklin D. Roosevelt wanted to bypass this amendatory process in 1937 he insisted that his court-packing proposal must come "Now, Now, Now!" And he added: "Now [opponents of my plan] are making a last stand. And the strategy of that last stand is to suggest the time-consuming process of amendment in order to kill off by delay the legislation demanded."

The Australian Method

The most acceptable method of amending the Constitution would probably be similar to that already existing in Australia. There a proposed amendment can be submitted to direct popular vote by an absolute majority vote in both houses of the central government's legislature. The amendment is adopted if it is approved in a majority of the states and by a majority of the total number of voters. In this way Congress would be able to set a single day (most conveniently the next regular annual election day) on which a proposed constitutional amendment would either be rejected or adopted.

It would also be desirable to add to this a provision which would enable the state legislatures to submit a constitutional amendment on their own initiative. (The Constitution already has a provision for state initiative in this matter; but it is so cumbersome and so uncertain in its result that it has never been applied.) One practicable provision might be that if more than one-third of the legislatures of the states approved a proposed amendment (identical in its language) Congress would be *directed* to submit it to a general popular referendum not later than the next regular annual election day. Such a device would help to preserve or restore a balance between state and federal initiative and jurisdiction, and remove the excuse for amendment by court "interpretation."

In conclusion, it should be made clear that not *all* these devices or amendments are to be regarded as necessary. But it may clarify thinking to put forward the main choices for public discussion in the hope that agreement may be obtainable on a few of them.

It should also be made clear that reforms in legal or constitutional machinery, no matter how extensive, are not in themselves sufficient to safeguard constitutional rights, checks and balances if the people's vigilance is relaxed or if the spirit that inspired our constitutional safeguards has languished. But it is equally obvious that institutional and constitutional reforms are necessary so that, as long as the desire for limited and balanced government remains alive, the people may have adequate and appropriate machinery to make their will prevail.

THE CAMPAIGN

(Continued from p. 11)

union money ever thrown into a campaign, is the classic example of the fact that the power of the union bosses stops outside the voting booth.

Although the political umbilical cord has been severed, it is highly probable that Mr. Truman will cost Mr. Stevenson some votes before the campaign is over; for it is virtually inconceivable that he will do him the great service of keeping his mouth shut. But if Stevenson is encumbered by a "faithful" follower so, too, is Eisenhower. The abortive outcome of Stassen's attempt to dump Nixon has no relation to its "success" in weakening the Republican ticket. Among Republicans, opposition to Nixon was either latent or nonexistent until Stassen stirred up the animals, increased existing enmity, created doubt and uncertainty where they had not previously existed. Of the two, Truman and Stassen, Truman is the greater debit against the party's chances; but Stassen—who likes to take polls—might check up to determine what percentage of the Republican vote he has cost President Eisenhower.

There are other factors in evaluating the odds in this race which will be discussed as the campaign progresses; but there is one condition which will be constant and, potentially decisive until election day—and that, of course, is Mr. Eisenhower's health. It cannot be eliminated as an issue by favorable medical bulletins. It would still be in the public consciousness even if the Democrats refrained entirely from alluding to it directly or by implication. Neither sympathy nor chivalry can erase the fact that the President has had two serious illnesses in the past year. Beyond doubt the state of his health is a consideration to be weighed—even among many of those who, all things being equal, prefer Mr. Eisenhower to Mr. Stevenson.

And that is the last and perhaps the most compelling reason why the starting odds on Mr. Eisenhower—as quoted by expert political observers—are not five to one, or three to one, or even two to one. One veteran analyst, the winner of many election bets over many years, called the turn at five to three. Maybe the big professional gamblers will be more liberal. But don't count on it.

NATIONAL TRENDS

(Continued from p. 9)

main as long as Nixon is Vice President, a futile debate. Let's also state a corollary that no one with ideological ends to serve has any business placing his bets on one possibility or the other. The only responsible hypothesis, as this observer sees it, is that Nixon has potentialities for becoming one or the other. Under the circumstances, the only responsible approach for those engaged in political operations is to create a power situation which will encourage the Vice President to move in the desired direction. This the Right Wing—perhaps unavoidably—did not do at San Francisco. With all the important battles for Mr. Nixon's allegiance still to be fought, the Right Wing deprived itself of a future bargaining position: In vigorously demanding Nixon's renomination, the Right Wing delivered itself to Nixon, perhaps irrevocably, at a time when Nixon gave and could give nothing in return by way of policy commitments. Conservatives may feel good after having crushed Harold Stassen, but it is questionable how good they will feel in Nixon's hip pocket when Presidential Candidate Nixon, in 1960, is out soliciting support where he may still need it—from the Liberals.

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A Letter to the Editor

FINIS FARR

Men Without a Country

I am beginning to think this Status of Forces article I have been urging you to commission might be a study in the decline of American honor generally, which might be accurately dated as starting with the imprisonment of Angus Ward. The *permitted* imprisonment, I should say. I need not recall Perdicaris, and in the nineties there was a great uproar about some American sailors arrested by civil authorities in some Latin American country.

I have just been reading—forgive me if I seem to skip around—the proceedings before the most recent meeting of the Senate Committee—Ervin-Flanders—which is supposed to look into this every year. A Defense Department lawyer, an Army lawyer, and a professional jailer employed by the Army, appeared and assured the Senators that it was practically a *privilege* to be imprisoned in a foreign lockup after trial under a foreign system of law. The jailer reported that his foreign colleagues (he didn't get around to Japan) were practically making *pets* of the GI's. The humor of the Senators, kidding this jailer (penologist he called himself) for not also promoting a junket to Japan calls for Dickensian treatment. Little Mr. Flanders was proud of himself because, though not a lawyer, he had heard of both Roman law and common law. Sam Ervin thought the old fellow bright as a button.

The lawyers reported that if a GI got a raw deal—or *seemed* to be getting a raw deal was the way they put it—papers could be filed requesting "the host country" to give him a break. Well, yes, it was true—the host country could disregard this plea for mercy if it wished. And if it did—well, it was just tough on the GI. But we *did* have this privilege of begging for mercy, and having observers at the trials, and the interpreters were ***usually*** pretty good. Of course, there ***had*** been, and recently, some very regrettable cases, where the GI's had, well, you just about had to admit that there had been a *little* injustice here and there. But look, in Japan the jailers were reported to give them hot water bottles, and by percentage only a very few, just a couple of hundred GI's, were actually in foreign jails, and the longest sentence so far was only fifteen years, and generally speaking the foreign courts were quite lenient, although, of course, there *was* some resentment because the French system differed so much from ours, and so on.

There was an obvious cover-up of one case, of which the Army lawyer said "you know the unpleasant details," and they only quoted specific occurrences where it looked as though one could say that court-martial would have been more severe than the foreign court. The uniformed lawyer, and the lawyer in plain clothes, and the jailer were, of course, miserable, contemptible bureaucrats and in themselves unimportant. They were trying to make the boss look good. *The men come first*—this is the basic law of *real* officers. Any young lieutenant who doesn't know this by instinct would find it out if he ever got in a position where his life depended on whether or not the men thought he cared about what happened to them. Lieut. J. W. Stilwell, for example, carried in Sergeant Paddy Driscoll on his back when a patrol was bushwacked on Mindanao. Just the West Point or V.M.I. experience doesn't put this into a young officer's stock of ideas, especially when applied to a base of pure corn. Nevertheless, Ike is Commander-in-Chief and he's responsible for the men.

Now, as to the efforts of the bureaucrats to justify this treaty, and the Executive Agreement with the Japs, they do not so much try to legitimize the agreements as they try to make it appear that, after all, there is *very little* hardship or injustice. Obviously if there is *any* hardship or injustice, that is too much. But the point is, if no GI were ever brought before a foreign tribunal, these agreements still should never have been entered into in the first place. (The numbers of jailed GI's go up each year—showing that as the foreigners finally get it through their heads that they can jail our men, they will do more and more of it.)

Why shouldn't this Treaty have been made? Because it was unprecedented in the history of the world, and sold out the value of our citizenship, uniform and flag.

The uniformed and plainclothes lawyers of the Defense Department, and State, moreover, have actually had to go through a lot of hard work to set this thing going! Treaty proposed in 1951, Ike sold in '53. Since then the administration of the thing has been one headache—*not to get our men out of foreign jails, just to see that the wheels turn smoothly.* The uniformed lawyer said they were doing everything they could, within the framework of the Status of Forces formula, to make the arrangements operate successfully "both with respect to the individuals accused of crime and *with respect to our relationship with the host countries.*" Some Army lawyer! I wouldn't want him representing *me.*

To sum up: long-standing practice has been upset, apparently by Defense lawyers and people in State who regard GI's as coolies, in the interest of this curious obsequiousness before foreigners which seems to be the grand delusion of our American time. (Can you imagine the Romans actually *working hard* to fix it so that members of the Legions guarding the wall in North Britain could be thrown into British jails? If the Britons didn't like something they could complain to the Centurion and that was about that. And the Centurion might hang a man.)

Iceland, having no forces, couldn't get in on the Status of Forces agreement. But State soon got to work on that and, with Defense, granted the Icelanders an Executive Agreement similar to that enjoyed by the Japanese. Since that time, December 1, 1954, the Icelanders have hauled up 227 GI's. Two are still in jail and will no doubt stay there when we are forced to move on.

Have I gone crazy? or is this not a frightful state of affairs?

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The Liberal Line...

WILLMOORE KENDALL

From Mr. Liberal Himself

American politics, to the never-ending displeasure of American Liberal intellectuals, are not issue politics. The opposing party's bid for the popular support it needs in order to unhorse the party in power usually runs, therefore, in terms of

—pretending to oppose current national policy, while not committing itself to suspension or modification of any particular policy;

—insisting on the long-term benefits that will accrue to the nation from a "change"—not, I repeat, from repeal or modification of present policies, but from the execution of present policies by a different set of men.

As witness Mr. Stevenson's acceptance speech:

On foreign policy, for example. We must, says Mr. Stevenson in effect, move promptly and vigorously a) to "reverse the spread of Communism," and b) to regain the influence and prestige in the outside world that we have lost—"*in the last four years.*" Except for that last, one might think he was coming out for NATIONAL REVIEW's foreign policy. But No, he merely desires more attention to the "economic and political fabric" of our alliances (only by implication, therefore, does he go along with Bowles & Co. in saying we have overemphasized the military fabric of those alliances), and wishes us to "meet the challenge" of the "violent" forces that dispute with us for the "direction of our times." How shall we meet the challenge? Why, with "new programs." What "new programs"? Mr. Stevenson prefers not to say. But he does slip in, *en passant,* a come-on for Mr. Bowles' left-wing admirers: the vast "social revolution" whose challenge we must meet has "liberated more than half of mankind in barely a generation."

In any case, he makes it clear that he wants to do, in foreign affairs, only what Eisenhower-Dulles have said *they* want to do: help others out of "Communist or colonial servitude"; protect the "full independence" of the "new nations"; head up the struggle for peace; recognize that peace is not a "visionary idea" but an "imperative necessity." No one, let us agree, is likely to squeeze an issue out of any of *that.*

On sordid materialism, for example. We must not worship the achievement of bigness, or delude ourselves that we can minister to the world's "spiritual hunger" with commodities. On the contrary; we must have and show *respect* (for people), *reverence* (for life), *hope* (for each child's future), and *belief* (that God is in every man); we must reclaim all the great Christian and humane ideas, including that of loving our fellow man, but including first and foremost PEACE. Evidently Mr. Stevenson has been sitting at the knee of General Eisenhower's mother.

On the South, for example, and its outmoded notions about the race problems that have "tormented our national life." Let the South, Mr. Stevenson says in effect, not delude itself into thinking, because of what the Democratic platform says, that its peculiar institutions would fare better under him than under Eisenhower, for he also would press on toward "fuller freedom for all our citizens." No issue here, certainly.

On the men of different stamp, loyalties, and aspirations whom a Democratic victory would bring to power, for example. Here Mr. Stevenson is two parts Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. (see the analysis of his "new Liberalism" in this space a couple of months back) and one part Dean Acheson (see Senator McCarthy's review of his book in NATIONAL REVIEW, December 28, 1955). Our trouble as a nation the last four years, Mr. Stevenson thinks, is that we are "stalled on dead center." America, which once lifted man to the highest economic condition he has ever known, and saved freedom, and saved collective security, *has ceased to give off new ideas* (the Acheson emphasis). The Republicans, Mr. Stevenson thinks, like it that way; the Democrats don't like it; that is, indeed, what this election is all about. The Democrats say we are "on the threshold of a New America" (the Schlesinger "new Liberalism" emphasis), that we must make up for lost time—by renewing the forward movement of "unparalleled social reform" that has been characteristic of the American past. In the New America, therefore, there will be *no* poverty; because our "abundance" will be used to "enrich the lives of every family"; freedom will be "real" for all; the idea that men can solve their differences by killing each other (as opposed, one supposes, to appeasing each other) will be under constant attack; "great ideals and noble visions" will be the order of the day. Because of atomic energy, the specter of hunger is now vanishing from the earth; the "grinding anxieties of bread, shelter and raiment" need never trouble us again; and, economic law having been thus repealed, we shall be able to concentrate on improving the "*quality*" of living. As with Mr. Schlesinger, though, the quality keeps on turning into quantity in Mr. Stevenson's hands: schools are to be better, but pretty clearly because of improved physical plant; family farms are to thrive, but pretty clearly because they will enjoy larger incomes; small business will be "preserved"; unions will be "stronger"; our natural resources will be conserved, and developed for *all* our citizens.

In a word, the balloon in which Mr. Stevenson is going to rise out of the sordid materialism of the Republicans somehow never gets airborne; what he wants is a) levelling (the "doors of opportunity" must be "equally open to all"), which is always easier to accomplish with, say, a bulldozer than with a poem, and b) for immediate electoral purposes anyway, no specific commitments. The "New America," in short, is pie-in-the-sky; for the rest, Mr. Stevenson is pretty clearly in favor of more and more of the kind of prosperity we have—that is, Republican prosperity. No issue here, either.

In fact, no issue *any*where in sight.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

GBS: Decline and Fall of an Ad-Man

ROBERT PHELPS

In England, where shrines are big business, Shaw's own house remains conspicuously un-mobbed by tourists, and his centenary brought out some harshly candid devaluations of his posthumous standing. Here in America, the same occasion was pitifully exploited by a Chicago hotel, which dedicated a "Shaw Room," while the local Adult Education Council sponsored a vegetarian dinner. In France, André Maurois asked himself if Shaw were a great man, but then begged the question by merely recounting some anecdotes of the gratuitous snottiness to which Shaw so tirelessly exposed anyone associated with him.

In other words, less than ten years after his death, and in spite of close to a century of very resourceful public relations on his own behalf, Shaw's image is getting smaller and smaller. As a waspish, uncarnivorous, camera-loving nonagenarian, he is still good for gossipy reminiscence. Indeed, he seems to have spent a substantial part of his time doing and saying things for just this purpose. But in any of the capacities in which he regarded himself highly—as a writer, for instance, or as a maker of plays, or as a thinker—his eclipse has been so abrupt as to seem possibly unjust. Actually, it is wholly deserved.

As a writer, in his plays as well as his prefaces and reviews, Shaw's language was lucid, forensic and, Heaven knowns, never lacking self-assurance; but I doubt if he ever wrote what Yeats once called "sentences men murmur again and again for years." I recently reread *St. Joan*, but not a single line sticks in my head. The Inquisitor's peroration, supposed to be one of Shaw's great set pieces, is florid, Edwardian rhetoric.

As a maker of plays, Shaw was a shrewd carpenter. Never original or inventive, he at least knew that the first rule of working with the stage consists in remembering that several hundred people will be sitting in fairly uncomfortable seats for three hours while your vehicle carries on. In a very crude sense, they must be held captive.

But this will only make plays professional and successful, as Shaw's surely were. To make them lasting, or great, their maker must know something about human beings. Shaw, alas, knew next to nothing about people and, if his plays are any clue, feared and loathed them with all his—not heart, but mind. He saw them only in terms of tidy little notions, opinions, paradoxes; of clever, deodorized ideas. For Shaw, the Word was never made Flesh; only more words. Listening to his arch, bloodless Caesar and Cleopatra babble on, one would never dream that a very irrational little Caesarion might come of it all.

He once said that he learned to write plays by studying *Don Giovanni*—which is convincing; for his plays are best regarded as operas without music. One idea-aria follows another; then a choral discussion; another solo-opinion; a debating duet; etc. It is not surprising that the concert-reading of *Don Juan in Hell* which Laughton's company put on a few years ago seemed so right. For once, the play was not obliged to look like something that might happen to flesh-and-blood human beings. Shaw's ideas were safe.

Now this is fine, and perfectly admissible. Peacock wrote charming novels in which voices which never for a moment ask to be taken as living souls exchange witty chit-chat for chapter after chapter. And if Shaw, or his admirers, had ever been willing to compare him—as he should be compared—with Peacock, or even Aldous Huxley, I would never protest. But it was Shakespeare whom Shaw presumed to regard as his peer; and to my knowledge, Shaw never suffered a crueller exposure than during the season Laurence Olivier's company alternately played his *Caesar and Cleopatra* with Shakespeare's hotly human sequel.

It is as a thinker, as a patent medicine man to mankind's ills, that Shaw is least defensible. It is not merely that his ideas were never his own; nor even that he advanced them with the most boorish arrogance since Nietzsche's. It is the assumption upon which all of them so smugly rested. "Until Society is reformed," he once declared, "no man can reform himself except in the most insignificant small ways."

Now that a remote generality like Society, or Medicine, or Religion, or the Irish, or the Jews, or penology, or vivisection, has to be adjusted before Number One need acknowledge his shortcomings—strictly this presumption is what all the nuisances from Hitler to Lenin to Townsend, to every one of those self-esteeming prigs we so imprecisely call "liberals," have in common:

They never dream of saying, "Lord, be merciful unto me, a poor sinner." Such local particulars, such "insignificant small ways." are not for them. Instead, they insist that until everybody has a Bachelor of Arts degree or all doctors have to register with the government, or every third cat is guaranteed a Christian burial; until some general defection "out there" is corrected, this tiny, concrete, quantitatively irrelevant *me* might just as well go on, like Shaw, being a prim smart aleck whose private sins of

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pride, venality, and self-preservation are only a drop in the bucket.

Since precisely this smugness seems to be in the saddle as it never has been before, Shaw's decline ought to seem paradoxical. I prefer to regard it as a modest but significant sign of changes to come. *All* the people cannot fool themselves *all* the time. Here and there, a few are waking up. The post-World-War-Two generation is not quite as fulsomely pleased with its good intentions about society as its fathers were in 1930, or their fathers in 1910. In spite of the deep freeze of standardization that prevails everywhere today, more and more of them, I suspect, are beginning to look into their mirrors, and ask questions.

In another hundred years, I also suspect, Shaw will be read, if at all, for his music criticism, since music was the one subject he was not afraid to write about with private relish and in loving detail. Otherwise, his best chances of survival are with the Ad-Men, from the 1976 edition of whose *Every Young Man's Guide Book to Agit-Prop*, I think it is safe to quote the following:

> **Shaw, George Bernard** (1856-1950). Publicist and manufacturer, who operated in Great Britain from Victoria to Elizabeth II. His best-known products were Stageplays and GBS, both of which enjoyed a world-wide market during his own lifetime. Under the same brand-name, he also distributed Novels, "Tomfooleries," Prefaces, Fabianism, etc., though he is most profitably studied as a publicist. He not only handled his own accounts entirely, using every medium from gossip to newsreels, but conducted lively campaigns on behalf of such various clients as Wagner, Ibsen, Stalin, Brieux, etc. (SEE Webbs, S. and B.)

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Mr. Justice Hughes

Charles Evans Hughes and American Democratic Statesmanship, by Dexter Perkins. Edited by Oscar Handlin. 200 pp. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. $3.50

This book, from the Library of American Biography, has the advantage and disadvantage of a cursory treatment of a big subject.

Mr. Perkins' "cunning of reason," quite different from Hegel's, betrays him into half-hidden assumptions which give a consistent drift to his appraisals: He has a simple and moving faith that to be "progressive" is good, to be "reactionary" always a mistake; and if reaction is continuously wrong or irrational, the preceding action must just as surely be sane or sanctified.

Mr. Perkins' persistent bias in this regard does not prevent him from listing fairly (but incompletely) these "characteristics of the conservative point of view": 1) "stress on the checks and balances of the Constitution"; 2) "more . . . sympathy with the actually operating American business system" and a higher valuation on "the entrepreneurial gifts which have done much to make our great industrial progress possible" than Liberals exhibit; 3) "greater emphasis on sound and effective administration"; 4) "caution in advocating change." Now, surely, one who has such characteristics needs no apology or defense.

In his critique of Supreme Court decisions, some of which are misleadingly described, Mr. Perkins' criteria are not so much the Constitution itself, its basic rationale, and its history, as an assortment of large and euphonious sonorities: "adjusting to the spirit of the times," "legal implications of the new climate of opinion," "consonant with the undoubted drift of public opinion," "impeding the policies of the New Deal," "interpretation . . . favorable to social and economic adjustment," consistency "with . . . previously held views as to the place of labor in society," "interpretation more favorable to social and economic adjustment," obstruction "in the way of . . . necessary changes in the political and social order."

Such billowy abstractions may inspire politicians and legislators. They are useless for judges. They help Mr. Perkins scoff at profit-making by U.S. capitalists, while he justifies taxing schemes which need and indeed presuppose such profit-making.

Confidence in "collective security" is, for Mr. Perkins, a touchstone of advanced statesmanship. But Hughes was unmoved by this mythology or mystique. Indeed, he was unregenerate enough to take "a critical view of the principle of united action for the maintenance of peace." And he put the Constitution above such vagaries of impracticable conceptualization as Perkins seems to prefer.

I dissent vigorously from the view that "all statesmanship in a democracy [the author should have written *republic*] is and must be in its broad lines interpretative of the national sentiment." "Leadership" does not consist in following the broad lines of national sentiment. To Caesarize the people, and to become their abject servitor, is as bad as Caesarizing a President. Perkins displays a tendency to do both. (He scolds Senator Lodge as "heedless of his obligation as Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee to support the administration.") In a healthy *republic* such as ours there must always be representatives who will follow *principle*, as mediated by *conscience* and *intellect*, rather than the dictates of an administration or of "national sentiment." A statesman who speaks the unpopular truth will be guided by the Constitution and by ethics rather than polls.

Where he recounts the facts Mr. Perkins is reliable and useful. In his attacks on the conservative position he is another Liberal.

GODFREY P. SCHMIDT

New Vocation

Tomorrow's Food, by James Rorty and N. Philip Norman, M.D. 297 pp. New York: Devin-Adair. $3.95

Once upon an unstandardized time, every small town had its own miller to grind the wheat and its own baker to convert the flour into bread. Nowadays, the word "miller," except as a surname, is hardly known outside fairy tales. A "baker" is a foolish man whose wife committed adultery in a French movie. And our Daily Bread is "vitamin-enriched," double-sealed

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in waxed paper, and authoritatively purged of all the "germs" which might compromise its "freshness" after a week in a self-service food mart.

For anyone who asks himself how we have come to this grotesque state of affairs, this new edition of *Tomorrow's Food* seems as good a place as any to look for the awful truth. And for anyone who is disgusted enough to want to do something about it, there is an appendix on "how to eat sensibly" in spite of Madison Avenue. These recommendations are all sane, ideal, irreproachable, though observing them in the puristic spirit the authors prescribe would mean nothing less than having a vocation for diet. After all, a man doesn't exist only for his stomach, does he? ROGER BECKET

Sweden: Wrong Way

The Politics of Compromise, by Dankwart A. Rustow. 257 pp. Princeton: Princeton University Press. $5.00

Professor Rustow's systematic analysis of the Swedish political process provides the kind of basic information that is vitally needed for a comparative analysis of Western European political institutions. And his conclusions raise challenging questions.

One set of questions deals with such institutional problems as the impact of proportional representation on party systems and the effects of a multi-party system on cabinet-parliament relationships. Another and more important set of questions deals with the values that a democratic political system should seek to achieve. The author demonstrates that the Swedish "politics of compromise" differs sharply from the classic British version of "responsible" government. He also suggests that the evolution of Swedish society toward a form of "pluralism" and "corporatism" is undermining some essential prerequisites of a healthy democratic order

Unfortunately, the discussion of these questions is limited to a consideration of the "benefits" and "costs" of the Swedish solution, without sufficient development of the values on which the judgments are based. But the fact remains that Professor Rustow's analysis has admirably succeeded in offering guideposts for further research. KARL H. CERNY

REVIEWED IN BRIEF

The Republicans, A History of Their Party, by Malcolm Moos. 564 pp. New York: Random House. $5.95

As competent a job of slightly slicked-up history as the average. Full of anecdotes and color, it is entertaining and should serve well for quick practical reference. As interpretative history, however, either of the Republican Party or of the development of political currents over the past hundred years, it is what might be expected from an author to whom the right wing of today's Republicans are "disgruntled dinosaurs." True Republicanism, in Mr. Moos' view, despite occasional unfortunate diversions, develops in a straight line from Lincoln via the Progressives to the Keynesian planning and "dynamic conservatism" which are now so happily accepted by the "moderates" of both parties.

Communism and Nationalism in the Middle East, by Walter Z. Laqueur. 362 pp. New York: Frederick A. Praeger. $6.50

It is the virtue of Mr. Laqueur's book that it makes unmistakably clear the real character of the nationalist revolution. While the book is restricted in its consideration to the Middle East, its general analysis would be equally true, although with local cultural variations, of, for example, India or Indonesia. Mr. Laqueur demonstrates in great detail and with incisive analytical ability that, except in Turkey and Israel (where special conditions exist), Communism throughout the Middle East is the natural beneficiary of nationalist success; and that higher living standards, far from being a barrier to Communism, themselves create the strata from which the Communist cadre is recruited.

Mid-East: World-Center: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow, planned and edited by Ruth Nanda Anshen. 386 pp. New York: Harper & Brothers. $6.50

This book is one of those collections of material by a multitude of writers (in this case, nineteen) which are supposed to give a rounded view of the subject, but which usually, as in this instance, are diffuse and pointless. While it has great pretensions to being an authoritative handbook of the Middle East, it is doubtful whether it has very much value for anyone who reads the newspapers fairly regularly and has an ordinary encyclopedia at hand.

The Anti-Stalin Campaign and International Communism. Edited by the Russian Institute. 338 pp. New York: Columbia University Press. $1.75

Columbia University's Russian Institute has put together, with commendable speed, a useful volume. There are here published the State Department text of Khrushchev's anti-Stalin speech to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, together with comments thereon of the Russian and the major Western Communist Parties up to the middle of July. The principal statements from Rome, Paris, London and New York are included. As of now, two conclusions seem indicated: first, that the anti-Stalin campaign has had a sharper, more disturbing impact on the world Communist movement than any tactical turn since Stalin's liquidation of the inner-Party factions in the late 1920's; second, that the disturbance has not proved deep enough, so far at least, to produce any important fissure or breach.

Sin and Science: Reinhold Niebuhr as Political Theologian, by Holtan P. Odegard. 245 pp. Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press. $3.00

An attempt from the Left to dispose of Reinhold Niebuhr by showing the incompatibility of his theology and his politics. The author is an all-out believer in the power of social science and planning to save us all (he is *for* science and doesn't mind sin). That Mr. Niebuhr is a mass of contradictions is not news; but the blatant scientistic scorn with which Mr. Odegard attacks him seems hardly grateful towards one who has done so much for the American Left.

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To the Editor

Dr. Gideonse Objects

A copy of your issue of June 27, 1956, containing Mr. Alfred Kohlberg's article "Not Doublethink, But Nothink" has just reached me here at the Free University at Berlin where I am serving as a guest professor. Mr. Kohlberg's statements about me, about the American Jewish League Against Communism, and about Rabbi Schultz contain so many inaccuracies and misinterpretations that it would take a long article to set his record of 'Doublethink' and 'Nothink' straight.

Mr. Kohlberg's press release about Brooklyn College in 1952—of which he did not even send me a copy—was so manifestly uninformed that a clear statement of the relevant facts by my office prevented its publication in most of the New York press. A request to him in writing suggesting that he submit legally relevant evidence to the New York City Board of Higher Education did not even produce an acknowledgment. Some of the "evidence" in his press release included material indicating that teachers have been interested in unemployment assistance which—if it is evidence of "communism"—would clearly convict Dwight D. Eisenhower and Winston Churchill. The fact that *some* of these individuals *subsequently* resigned or lost their positions simply indicates that the legal remedy established in Section 903 of the New York City Charter became available to the Board after the refusal to testify before the United States Senate Committee, or in other cases it indicated that legally substantial evidence was unearthed at a later date by the Board's own investigating staff. It proves nothing about Mr. Kohlberg's irresponsible press release in 1952, which did not contribute one iota of evidence to substantiate a case that would be sustained in the courts.

It is a fine thing to support American institutions. It is also desirable to understand the nature of these institutions if they are to be defended in accordance with their own character. We cannot effectively fight communism with press releases. In a free society we are under the law which assumes that a defendant is innocent until his guilt has been proved, and this calls for legally substantiated evidence—subject to appeals to the courts and to Albany—to prove charges of conduct unbecoming a teacher. It has taken fifteen years of hard and devoted work to clear up this situation. Mr. Kohlberg's contributions to this task in our case were just exactly zero.

Berlin, Germany HARRY D. GIDEONSE

In an attempt to unscramble the situation, we have looked into the relevant documents. We have satisfied ourselves that

1. The press release in question, issued by the Joint Committee Against Communism in New York and signed by Mr. Kohlberg, did not go further *than to ask that an investigation be made into Communism in Brooklyn College. In listing the Communist front connections of a number of members of the faculty, it adduced prima facie evidence that such an investigation was in order. The investigation that finally materialized itself made it possible for the administration of Brooklyn College to take action against those professors who pleaded the Fifth Amendment, under the authority of Section 903 of the New York City Charter.*

2. Dr. Gideonse errs on the matter of the unanswered letter. The chairman of the New York City Board of Higher Education wrote Mr. Kohlberg on September 27, 1951. Mr. Kohlberg answered him on October 4, 1951.

3. Dr. Gideonse's reference to Mr. Kohlberg's charges against "teachers [who] have been interested in unemployment assistance" presumably refers to the membership of Professor Theresa Wolfson in the "National Congress for Unemployment Insurance," a Communist front to which Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Churchill, though interested in unemployment assistance, never belonged.

We regret that Dr. Gideonse, a leading scholar who presides over a major college, should, in this exchange, have failed to make the distinctions necessary to civilized discourse.—THE EDITORS

The Suez Conference

I read "Earthquake at Suez" [August 11] with very great interest. I am in fullest agreement with the sentiments you express at the beginning, and I fear that your pessimism at the end of the editorial might now be justified. But it need not have been; there was a genuine will to action here in the first days after the seizure: The defect of will which you so rightly mention as having caused all the previous withdrawals would for once have been overcome. Britain and France were ready for decisive action, and, as you say, it would have been a first step in the right direction. Was it only lack of support from the United States that caused the apparent watering-down of the sentiments, or a direct warning? . . .

You seem resigned to accept a disappointing outcome of the London Conference, but I fear it will mean giving up any hope of enthusiastic support for strong action at some future occasion, from the people of Britain. . . .

Reading, England WILLIAM PARKER

Mr. Murrow's Analysis

One hopes that not too many viewers failed to get the benefit of and solace from Edward R. Murrow's brilliant statement of the issues in the coming Republicrat campaign. In a commentary at the very close of the convention proceedings in Chicago, this sterling spokesman for the Establishment's *cognoscenti* (with our nation in a life-and-death struggle for existence amid the twin maelstroms of Statism and atheistic Communism) pontificated to the effect that the Democratic Convention, by gum, had brought into sharp focus the really big and burning issues on which it will conduct its campaign. They, he stated categorically, are:

> FOREIGN POLICY (which *neither* party possesses); THE FARM PROBLEM (which is a problem only *because* of both parties); NIXON (the nemesis of eggheads, internationalists and Moscowphiles).

How's that for astute and penetrating analysis? . . .

Chicago, Ill. CHARLES M. HANNA

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The man who thinks big at your expense

THINKING big is fine—when a problem demands it. But this bureaucrat was thinking too big when he built a two-mile bridge across a trickle of water.

Too many purely local projects are planned by bureaucrats. Sitting in Washington, far from the local scene, much bureaucratic energy is consumed in bulldozing through red tape of its own making. Communications become snarled. Mistakes are inevitable. And always it is the taxpayer who pays for these mistakes.

But the waste and inefficiency inherent in gargantuan Federal bureaus can be eliminated—if we recapture the initiative. In many cases, local officials should handle local projects. And taxpayers could keep a closer eye on the handling of their funds—if they were locally administered.

This is a task that does call for big thinking by all of us. Big thinking like this is profitable. When government is closer to the people, the people are more interested in government. Only in this way can Democracy thrive.

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